

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 INR-10 IO-13  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02  
DODE-00 DOE-15 SS-15 SP-02 CEQ-01 PM-05 /130 W  
-----113051 170148Z /73

R 162032Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6174  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 4680

USIAEA

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS MNUC, PARM, ENRG, TECH, AR  
SUBJECT US/ARGENTINE NUCLEAR COOPERATION

REF: A BUENOS AIRES 4284, B STATE 140112, C STATE 78782,  
D STATE 73111

1. SUMMARY: THE GOA HAVING ANNOUNCED RATIFICATION  
OF THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO IS TAKING STEPS TOWARD  
DISCUSSION WITH IAEA FOR INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS.  
THEY EXPECT THE US TO RECOGNIZE THIS WITH SOME POSITIVE  
MOVES TOWARD EXPANDED COOPERATION SUCH AS DISCUSSIONS  
ON TRANSFERS OF HEAVY WATER PRODUCTIONS TECHNOLOGY.  
THEY STILL CONTEND THIS WAS THE AGREEMENT REACHED IN  
THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF LAST NOVEMBER AND CLAIM THAT  
REPROCESSING DISCUSSIONS WERE OUT OF THE CONTEXT OF  
THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE, AND IN ANY EVENT, ACCORDING TO GOA THEY ARE  
NOT REPROCESSING. THE GOA DOES NOT FEEL TLATELOLCO IS IMPORTANT  
FROM A NON PROLIFERATION STANDPOINT BUT WILL FOLLOW  
THIS REQUIREMENT TO SATISFY US REQUESTS. THEY AGAIN  
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SPECIFY THAT THE NPT IS DISCRIMINATORY AND THEY WILL  
NOT SIGN. THE GOA IS HIGHLY INTERESTED IN EXPANDED  
NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH THE US AND IS LOOKING FORWARD  
TO TALKS IN THIS DIRECTION. END SUMMARY

2. THE FOLLOWING IS AN UNOFFICIAL AND FREE TRANSLATION  
OF A DIPLOMATIC NOTE RECEIVED BY THE EMBASSY IN ANSWER

TO OUR DIPLOMATIC NOTE NO 75 DATED 3/28/78  
(REFTEL C), CONCERNING US UNDERSTANDING OF THE JOINT  
COMMUNIQUE ISSUED DURING THE VISIT OF SECRETARY VANCE  
TO ARGENTINA IN NOVEMBER, 1977, AND DELINEATING THE  
THREE STAGES OF COOPERATION DISCUSSED.

3."-- THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WORSHIP OF  
THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC PRESENTS ITS COMPLIMENTS TO  
THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HAS  
THE HONOR TO REFER TO THE EMBASSY VERBAL NOTE NO 75,  
DATED MARCH 28, 1978.

-- THE GOVERNMENT OF THE US EXPRESSES IN NOTE 75  
ITS POSITION WITH RESPECT TO SOME OF THE QUESTIONS  
DISCUSSED DURING THE CONVERSATIONS HELD BY OFFICERS  
OF BOTH COUNTRIES ON BILATERAL NUCLEAR COOPERATION,  
ON OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO BUENOS AIRES OF MR CYRUS  
VANCE, NOV 18-22, 1977. IT ALSO ESTABLISHES ITS  
INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE  
IN CONNECTION WITH THOSE QUESTIONS.

-- IN REFERRING TO THE ACTIVITIES TO BE UNDERTAKEN  
BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS, THE NOTE STATES IN THE THREE  
STAGES INDICATED THAT: 'THESE ACTIONS WOULD OCCUR  
SEPARATELY; THEY WOULD NOT BE LINKED, NOR WOULD  
SUBSEQUENT STAGES OF EXPANDED COOPERATION BE SPECIFI-  
CALLY LINKED TO THESE ACTION.' THESE ARE HIGH  
PRINCIPLES BUT TO OUR UNDERSTANDING, DO NOT INCLUDE  
THE IDEA OF MUTUAL RELATIONS, IE "DO UT DES" (GIVE  
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AND TAKE). IT SEEMS NATURAL TO INTERPRET THAT, IN  
GENERAL, A COOPERATION PLAN CONTEMPLATES IN SOME WAY  
AN APPROXIMATE EQUIVALENCE IN THE ACTIONS THAT BOTH  
COUNTRIES UNDERTAKE.

-- HENCE, IT IS OUR INTERPRETATION THAT THE CONVER-  
SATIONS HELD AT THAT TIME LED TO THE EXPRESSED  
INTENTION ON THE SIDE OF THE US TO TRANSFER HEAVY  
WATER TECHNOLOGY TO OUR COUNTRY, AND TO OUR COUNTRY'S  
INTENTION TO RATIFY THE TREATY OF TLA TELLOCO AND  
ENTER INTO A REGIME OF FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS LIKE THOSE  
OF THE IAEA.

-- WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER-  
EVEN THOUGH IT MAY NOT REALLY CONTRIBUTE TO NUCLEAR  
PROLIFERATION - MAY BE OF A SENSITIVE NATURE AND  
DISSEMINATION WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS AN EXCEPTION  
TO THE US POLICY. ARGENTINA IN TURN EXPECTED THE US  
TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE RATIFICATION OF TLA TELLOCO  
CONTAINED DIFFICULTIES, SINCE IT IMPLICATED OVERCOMING  
INTERNAL OPPOSITION FROM DIFFERENT SECTORS. ALSO,  
IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT SUCH RATIFICATION CORRESPONDS  
IN A LARGER MEASURE - IF NOT EXCLUSIVELY A TO THE  
INTERPRETATION OF THE US, AND NOT THAT OF ARGENTINA,

WITH RESPECT TO THE EFFECTS OF NON-PROLIFERATION OF  
TLATELOLCO AND THAT IT WOULD SATISFY A POINT OF US  
POLICY.

-- ARGENTINA TAKES NOTE, THEN, OF WHAT THE  
GOVERNMENT OF THE US EXPRESSES IN THE NOTE WHICH IS  
NOW BEING ANSWERED, BUT WOULD LIKE AT LEAST TO  
POINT OUT THAT ITS OWN UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTIONS  
MENTIONED IN THE NOTE PERTAINING TO THE MEANING OF THE  
JOINT COMMUNIQUE, DIFFERS IN SOME ASPECTS WITH THOSE  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE US.

-- IT MAY BE REMEMBERED ALSO THAT SOME OPINIONS  
STATED DURING THE CONVERSATION (IN NOVEMBER), WHICH  
MY GOVERNMENT FEELS ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, WERE  
EXPRESSED BY THE GOA IN OPPOSITION TO THE UNILATERAL  
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AND ANTICIPATED POSTPONEMENT OF POSSIBLE CHEMICAL  
REPROCESSING ACTIVITIES, WHICH IN ANY EVENT, ARE NOT  
BEING CARRIED OUT IN ARGENTINA.

-- NOTWITHSTANDING THE ABOVE MENTIONED, THE  
ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IS CONVINCED THAT BOTH COUNTRIES  
ARE GREATLY INTERESTED IN PURSUING THE HIGH OBJECTIVE  
OF NUCLEAR NON PROLIFERATION, AND ALSO THAT THE US  
GOVERNMENT HAS A SINCERE INTEREST IN PROMOTING AND  
EXTENDING NUCLEAR COOPERATION FOR PEACEFUL ENDS WITH  
ARGENTINA. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ARGENTINE  
GOVERNMENT IS CERTAIN THAT THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON  
THE INTERPRETATION OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND OTHER  
QUESTIONS MENTIONED IN NOTE 75 CAN BE RECONCILED BY  
MEANS OF THE CONTACTS WHICH MAY BE ESTABLISHED, AND  
WHICH THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT LOOKS FORWARD TO  
WITH ITS BEST DISPOSITION.

-- THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND WORSHIP  
RENEWS TO THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
THE EXPRESSIONS OF ITS HIGHEST CONSIDERATION." SIGNED:  
ALBERTO ADEN, MINISTER, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEPT.

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 4680

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4. COMMENTS: ON JUNE 13, SCICOUNS METS WITH MINISTER ADEN, MFA, WHO PREPARED THE NOTE,(ADEN HANDLES UN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR NUCLEAR AFFAIRS IN THAT DIVISION) TO DISCUSS THE CONTENTS OF THE NOTE AND OTHER ISSUES RELATED TO THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO AND FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. MINISTER ADEN INDICATED THAT ARGENTINA HAS ANNOUNCED THE RATIFICATION OF TLATELOLCO AND WILL ENTER INTO DISCUSSION IN THE NEAR FUTURE WITH IAEA TO DEVELOP AND AGREEMENT FOR FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. HE SAID THE TREATY IS NOW WITH THE CAL AND THE PRESIDENCY FOR FINAL APPROVALS.

5. HOWEVER, ADEN STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT THE GOA HAD OVERCOME TREMENDOUS INTERNAL PRESSURE AGAINST THE RATIFICATION OF TLATELOLCO AND FEELS NOW THE BALL IS IN THE US COURT, SO TO SPEAK, TO LIVE UP TO THEIR PART OF THE "BARGAIN" AS AGREED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE. ADEN MENTIONED ALSO THAT ARGENTINA WOULD NOT SIGN THE NPT BECAUSE OF ITS DISCRIMINATORY ASPECTS AS OUTLINED BY FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES AT THE SSOD. HE FEELS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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US SHOULD UNDERSTAND HOW DEEPLY THE SIGNING OF THE TLATELOLCO TREATY HAD SEPARATED INTERNAL GOA POLITICS, AND HOW MUCH PRESSURE WAS ON THE PRESIDENT NOT TO RATIFY THE TREATY. THE PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO LIVE UP TO HIS US COMMITMENT, MADE THE DECISION TO RATIFY. ADEN STATED THAT ARGENTINA NEVER ATTACHED MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE TLATELOLCO TREATY AS A DEVICE TO PREVENT NON-PROLIFERATION SINCE THEY (ARGENTINA) NEVER HAD THE INTENTIONS TO PROLIFERATE. HOWEVER, PRIMARILY BECAUSE THE US FELT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT MOVE FOLLOWED BY INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS AS DISCUSSED DURING THE VANCE VISIT LAST NOVEMBER, THE GOA DECIDED TO RATIFY THE TREATY ACCOMPANIED BY INTER-

NATIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THE US WOULD FOLLOW UP WITH DISCUSSIONS ON THE TRANSFER OF HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY. THIS EXCHANGE, ACCORDING TO ADEN, WAS THE CRUX OF THE WHOLE MATTER AND APPARENTLY WHERE BOTH COUNTRIES ARE NOW OF DIFFERENT OPINIONS RELATIVE TO THE OUTCOME OF THE NOVEMBER DISCUSSIONS. THE SCICOUNS REVIEWED AGAIN THE US UNDERSTANDING OF THE DISCUSSIONS AS STATED IN OUR NOTE, AND INDICATED THAT IT IS OUR CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT PARAGRAPH 7 OF THE COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO EXPANDED US/ARGENTINE NUCLEAR COOPERATION UNDER THE FIRST TWO STAGES AND THAT THE PHRASE "RELEVANT TECHNOLOGY" DID NOT INCLUDE TRANSFER OF HEAVY WATER PRODUCTION TECHNOLOGY EXCEPT UNDER CONDITIONS DESCRIBED IN THE THIRD STAGE. THE THIRD STATE INCLUDED THE REQUIREMENT FOR A DEFERRAL OF REPROCESSING ACTIVITIES AND THE NEGOTIATION OF A FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARD AGREEMENT IF THIS WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED UNDER STAGES ONE OR TWO. THESE WOULD BE THE CONDITIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE TRANSFER OF HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY. AS STATED IN THE NOTE, THIS

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US POSITION HAD BEEN EXPRESSED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO CASTRO MADERO AND OTHER GOA OFFICIALS BY AMB SMITH, PROF NEY, AND EMBASSY OFFICERS.

6. ADEN INDICATED DEFERRAL OF REPROCESSING WAS NOT A PART OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE BUT OF SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE VISIT. HE CLAIMED THIS WAS NOT CONNECTED TO RECEIVING HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY FROM THE US; AND IN ANY EVENT, ARGENTINA WAS NOT INVOLVED IN CHEMICAL REPROCESSING AND DOES NOT HAVE THE NEED NOR THE TECHNOLOGY. HOWEVER, ADEN SAID THIS WOULD REMAIN A TECHNICAL QUESTION THAT COULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER WITH THE US.

7. FINALLY, ADEN STATED ARGENTINA WAS HIGHLY INTERESTED IN MOVING AHEAD WITH IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE US ON FUTURE NUCLEAR COOPERATION AND OBJECTIVES OF NON-PROLIFERATION. HE FEELS IF BOTH GOVERNMENTS WORK TOGETHER ON A SINCERE BASIS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES OF ATOMIC ENERGY, THESE DIFFERENCES RELATED TO THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND STAGES OF COOPERATION CAN BE RESOLVED.

8. THE REPORTING OFFICER INDICATED HE WAS ACTIVELY WORKING WITH CNEA OFFICIALS AND LAWYERS ON THE REVIEW OF THE US NON-PROLIFERATION ACT AND THAT THEY HAD REQUESTED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE US SIDE ON THE RENEGOTIATION OF A NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT (REFTEL A) WHICH WOULD BE NECESSARY BEFORE SOME OF THE EXPANDED

COOPERATION REFERRED TO IN THE NOTE COULD TAKE PLACE.

9. IN A FINAL QUESTION ON THE PNE SECTION OF TLATELOLCO, ADEN MENTIONED THIS WOULD BE DECIDED BY CAL AND THE PRESIDENCY BUT HE FELT THIS WAS NOT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ARGENTINA.

10. AS STATE IN PREVIOUS MESSAGES AND INCLUSIVE IN  
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THE ABOVE NOTE AND CONVERSATION, THE GOA HAS INDICATED  
THEIR DECISIONS

TO INCLUDE FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS WITH THE RATIFICATION OF TLATELOLCO. HOWEVER, THEY(GOA) FULLY EXPECT THAT THE US SHOULD UNDERSTAND HOW DIFFICULT THIS DECISION WAS BECAUSE OF INTERNAL PRESSURE AGAINST IT AND FEEL THEY HAVE LIEVED UP TO THEIR COMMITMENT IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF LAST NOVEMBER. THE GOA NOW EXPECTS THE US TO ENTER INTO EXPANDED TALKS ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION, INCLUDING THE PROVISION OF HEAVY WATER PRODUCTION TECHNOLOGY. REGARDING THE PROVISION REQUESTING THE DEFERRAL OF REPROCESSING, THEY CLAIM IT WAS NOT A PART OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND, IN ANY EVENT, WOULD NOT BE AN ISSUE SINCE (CNEA) IS NOT REPROCESSING.

11. IT SEEMS WE HAVE NOW COME TO THE POINT WHERE FURTHER JOINT TALKS ARE NECESSARY. IF ARGENTINA TAKES THE ACTION TO FULFILL STAGE TWO BY MOVING TOWARD A SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENTS WITH IAEA, WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD WITH DISCUSSIONS ON THE RENEGOTIATION OF OUR NUCLEAR COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS INDICATED. THE ISSUE OF REPROCESSING AND HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY CAN BE COVERED IN THESE DISCUSSIONS. THE EMBASSY COULD BEGIN BY DISCUSSING THE MODEL NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH THE GOA WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED AUTHORITY TO DO.  
CASTRO

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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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